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1918

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HOW SHALL WE

A Constructive Criticism on the House Revanue Bill.

LOANS BETTER THAN TAXES

Five Reasons Why Excessive Taxes at the Outset of War Are Disadvantage. ous-Great Britain Example Worthy! of Emulation-How the Taxes Should Be Apportioned.

By EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN,

McVicker Professor of Political Economic Columbia University. On May 23, 1917, the House of Rep. resentatives passed an net "to provide revenue to defray war expenses and for other purposes." In the original bill as presented by the Committee of Ways and Means, the additional revenue to be derived was estimated at \$1. \$10,420,000. The amendment to the income tax, which was tacked on to the bill during the discussion in the House was expected to yield another \$40,000. 000 or \$50,000,000.

In discussing the House bill, two problems arise:

I. How much should be raised by taxation?

II. In what manner should this sug be raised?

1. How Much Should Be Raised by Taxation?

How was the figure of \$1.500,000,000 arrived at? The answer is simple. When the Secretary of the Treasury came to estimate the additional war expense for the year 1917-18, he calculated that they would amount to some 80,000. 000,000, of which \$3,000,000,000 was to be allotted to the allies, and \$3.600. 000,000 was to be utilized for the do mestic purposes. Thinking that is would be a fair proposition to divide this latter sum between leans and taxes, he concluded that the amount to be raised by taxes was \$1,800,000.

There are two extreme theories, each of which may be disposed with scant courtesy. II. was in that all was expenditures should be defrered by Joans and the other is that all was expenditures should be defraged by taxes Each theory is untenable.

It is indeed true that the burdens of the war should be being by the pres ent rather than the future generation but this does not mean that they should be borne by this year's taxation.

Meeting all war expenses by taxation makes the taxpayers in one or two years bear the burden of benefits that ought to be distributed at least over ; decade within the same generation.

In the second place, when expenditures appreach the gigantic sums of present-day warfare, the tas-only toicy would require more than the total surplus of social income. Were this absolutely necessary, the ensuing bayos in the economic life of the communily would have to be endured. But where the disasters are so great and at the same time so unnecessary, the tax-only policy may be declared im ;

Secretary McAdoo had the right instinct and highly commondable com-ace in deciding that a substantial parage in deciding that a sitestantial pertion, at least of the revenue should be derived from taxation. But when he mit upon the idea of 50-50 ter cer. that is, of raising one-built of all demestic war expenditures by taxes, thus question arises whether we did not us

The relative proportion of hand laxes is after all a pately latence proposition. Not to rely to a large oftent on leans of the curset of a war

The dispotantages of excessive terms t the outset of the way are to fellews: 1. Excessive taxes on consumption ill cause popular resentment.

2. Excessive taxes on inductry will disarrange tusiness, damo enthusiasm and restrict the spirit of enterprise at the very time when the opposite is

3. Excessive taxes on incomes will do lete the surplus available for investments and interfere with the placing of the elemnous loans which will be neces

sary in any event. 4. Excessive taxes on wealth will cause a serious diminution of the incomes which are at present largely drawn upon for the support of educational and philanthropic enterprises Moreover, these sources of support would be dried up precisely at the time

when the need would be greatest. 5. Excessive taxation at the purset of the war will reduce the classicity available for the increasing demands that

are soon to come. Great Britain's Policy.

Take Great Britain as an example During the first year of the war affe increased taxes only slightly, in order to keep industries going at top noteh. During the second year she raised by new taxes only 0 per cent of her war expenditures. During the third year poor. she levied by additional taxes over and above the pre-war levely only slightly more than 17 per cent, of her war expenses.

If we should attempt to do as much in the first year of the war as Great ductivity of the community. Britain did in the third year is would stillee to raise by thruthion \$1,250,000. ofo. If in order to be absolutely on the safe side, it seemed advisable to increase the stift to \$1,500,000,000, this should, in our opinion, be the maxi-DIEST.

In considering the apportionment of the extraordinary burden of taxes in war times certain scientific principles are definitely established:

How Taxes Should Be Apportioned. (1) The hurden of tages must be spread as far as possible over the cording to his share in the Covernment.

(2) Taxes on consumption, which are necessarily horne by the community at large, should be imposed as far as posthan on those of necessity.

murily as rue material for further by room in front of which Kalleko

(4) Taxes upon business chould be celpts or capital invested.

(5) Taxes upon income which will to hade the income rate so excessive as to lead to evasion, admin.strative difficulties, or to the more fundaments

(6) The excess profits which are du to the war constitute the most obviou and reasonable source of revenue dur ing war times. But the principle upor which these war-profit taxes are laid must be equitable in theory and easil; calculable in practice.

The Proposed Income Tax.

The additional Income tax as passe by the House runs up to a rate of G per cent. This is a sum unheard of it the history of civilized society. It mus be remembered that it was only afte the first year of the war that Grea Britain increased her income tax to th maximum of 24 per cent, and tha even now in the fourth year of the wa the liceme fax does not exceed 42!

It could easily be shown that a to with rates on moderate incomes sul stantially less than in Great Britalia and on the larger incomes about a high, would yield only slightly less that the \$532,000,000 originally estimated it the House bill.

It is to be hoped that the Sociate will reduce the total rate on the highest is comes to 31 per cent, or at most to 4 per cent, and that at the same timewill reduce the rate on the smaller !: comes derived from personal or profes sional carnings.

If the war continues we shall have t depend more and more upon the in-come tex. By imposing excessive rate new we are not only endangering the future, but are inviting all manner of difficulties which even Great Britain has been able to escape.

Conclusion. The House bill contains other funda mental defects which may be summe-

un as follows: (1) It pursues an erroneous principa in imposing retroactive taxes. (2) It selects an unjust and nawork

(3) It proceeds to an unbeard-o height to the income tax. (4) It imposes unwarrant upon the communities of the cotumn

able eritorion for the excess profits tox

(5) It is calculated to throw business into confusion by levying taxes on great

stimp times. (T) It follows on magnetime ereta

in his flat rate on haports.
(3) It includes a shallfulleley of pe by and union salive taxes, the vexision ness of which is out of all proportion t the recense they produce.

The Contamental lines on which the House bill should be modified are sum, mant, because he helioved the

(i) The amount of new textition ela he limited to \$1,250,000.000-c if is transcepture. To do even this 56 Hostile Machines Destroyed in would be to de more than has ever been done by may civilized Government in time of stress.

a sound system ought to yield about terday reads:

on earned incomes below \$10,000, and to exceed 34 per cent. A careful cal ish aviators brought down an enemy culation shows that an income lax of machine. this kind would yield some \$450,000,-

(4) The tax on whisky and tobacco eaght to remain approximately as it is. with a yield of about \$230,000,000.

000,000, which is the amount of money ping a ten of high explesives. thought desirable.

tem. It will do away with almost an restorday by our and currelited sin of the complaints that are being urged men reached 56." against the present. It will refrain from taxing the consumption of the

upon the rich, but will not go to the extremes of confiscation. It will ob-viate interference with business and will keep unimpaired the social pro-It will establish a just balance be tween leans and taxes and will not

upon as the war proceeds.

only policy. Above all, it will keep must be more and more heavily draws JUST RECLIVED.

HOLDS FIVE AT BAY.

learge Kalisko Runs Amuek; Captured by Police.

Crazed by fear of court-martial and death, George Kalisko, private, ompany D, 316th Regiment, fled whole community so as to guise each from Camp Meade last Sunday night individual to share in the sacrifices ac- and was captured yesterday after cording to his ability to pay and ac- , hard struggle by camp police while holding five men at bay with an ax.

Kalisko, while at dinner at the farmhouse, suddenly became suspicisible on articles of quasi-luxury rather ous of his hosts and, grabbing an ax, made an attack upon them. The (3) Excises should be imposed as for five men and a woman who were at as possible upon commodities in the dinner with him made their escape than upon the articles which serve prid and barricaded themselves in a nearwalked to and fro swinging his ax.

A woman member of the household imposed as far as possible upon net who seemed to have an influence over carnings rather than upon gross re valishe and who was able to pacify him at the time when he seemed most he severe should be both dangerous, was able to slip from the differentiated and graduated. That is house and send word to the camp there should be a distinction between for the military police. A detachment corned and uncorned incomes and there hastened in autotruck to the house should be a higher rate upon the larger and after maneuvering about Kalisko incomes. It is essential however, not managed to arrest him. In their efforts to capture him they tried to lasso the soldier, but Kalisko evaded objections which have been urged the lariat and made a dash for the police. Two of the men managed to ide-step him and pounce upon him. Though Kelisyo struggled violently they sudbued him. They then reasred him that everthing would be il right and that he would be well

reated at the camp. An examination of Kalisko at the Clokey farm showed that one of his 'ect was frozen and that his clothes vere badly torn and he was in poor hysical condition. He was taken to he base hospital, where he is now under treatment. It seems that lalisko, after fleeing into the woods. ook off one of his shoes when his ot began to pain him and wandered round in the snow in that way.

KAISER LAUDED ROOSEVELT.

ony of Elistoric Hale Interview in Lausing's Hand

New York, Feb. S -A Washing on dispatch to the New York Tri-

The only copy of the celebrated ale-Kniser interview which is posively known to exist is now safely presited in a State Department pult. It was delivered within the est ten days to Secretary Lensing James W. Bothwell.

"As it travels around more and fore is learned of its character. itherto the strictures passed by the aiser upon the Catholic Church ave- been treated as the most imortant part of the interview, but ow it is believed more interesting ill is the part in which the kaiser derizes Theodore Moosevelt. At is adersted that the kaiser in the mood i which he was at the time of giving he interview believed that he and wern markful in a satisfactory sines and was placed minded that

Prises of Theodore Recovered as he rection own of all time and and only to 600 Mirrack!" was conhead to the interview with William 1997, according to James W. Both-Il. Mr. Bothwell, at his home in musical the only existing copy of to inspiritew with the State Depart-

of the outset to PLEGOLOGO COO. To do ATTACK FOUR ITALIAN CITIES.

Italy Since January 26.

Rome, Feb. 8 .- The official com-(2) The excess-profits fan based upon munication from headquarters yes-

"From Stelvio to the sea there was (3) The income-tax schedule ought to slight artillery activity. Some patrol be revised with a lowering of the rates encounters occurred between the Adige and the Brenta and there were rates on the higher incomes, so as not a few aerial combats, in which Brit-

"Calliano and Bassano and again Treviso and Mestre were bombed early yesterday morning by hostile aircraft, which, however, caused lit-These three taxes, together with the tle damage and few casualties. One stamp tax at even the low rate of the of our airships last night reached House bill, and with an improved aut the aviation grounds at St. Giacoma tomobile tax, will yield over \$1.250. di Vaglia, southeast of Vittoric, drug-

"The number of hostile machine The above program would be in harmony with an approved scientific sys.

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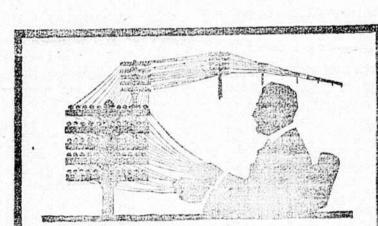
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